NANZAN REVIEW OF AMERICAN STUDIES
Volume 23 (2001): 1–6

In Memory of Mike Mansfield

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MICHAEL JOSEPH MANSFIELD PASSED AWAY at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C., on October 5, 2001, at the age of 98. This writer, as a representative of Nanzan University and the Center for American Studies, wants to express deep sorrow over his death. He died at the dawn of a new era of his country's unilateralism, two days before the United States began to launch massive air strikes on parts of Afghanistan in retaliation for the September 11 terrorist attacks on it. In some ways it is appropriate that Mr. Mansfield did not witness his country's adventurous entry into a new type of warfare at the very beginning of the 21st century.

It is also appropriate that this writer should remember Mike Mansfield. Nanzan University was honored to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Arts and Letters on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Center for American Studies on July 2, 1986. Those who are concerned with the Center have a responsibility to evaluate his contributions to the study of humanities through his efforts at fostering cultural and human exchanges between Japan and the United States during much of his life. This writer hopes that his memorial essay will be the first step in a series of articles about Mike Mansfield's achievements as congressman and ambassador to Japan.

He closed his 98 years of life in the 21st century, after witnessing two world wars and subsequent efforts to seek peace on a world scale, but not his country's entry into a new era of U.S. militarism. He was born in New York City on March 16, 1903, and moved with his family to Great Falls, Cascade County, Montana, in 1906, attending public school there. At the young age of 14 he joined the navy and fought in World War I as a seaman, served as a private in the U.S. Army in 1919 and 1920, and as a private first class in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1920 to 1922. He first encountered the Far East in 1922, while serving as a Marine in the Philippines and Tientsin, China. On his way back home in August of that same year, he visited Nagasaki for three days. He was a miner in Montana from 1922 to 1927, attended the Montana School of Mines at Butte in 1927 and 1928, and then worked as a mining engineer until 1930. His interest in Far Eastern affairs gained through experience as a Marine led him to Montana State University at Missoula, where he earned a B.A. in 1933 and a masters degree the following year. He taught Asian history and political science from 1933 to 1942, with a break for further study at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1936 and 1937.

Mansfield entered the House as representative from the state of Montana in 1943, replacing suffragist and pacifist Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress and the only person to vote against both world wars. He served five terms there—10 years—before he was elected to the Senate in 1952. Five years later he was elected assistant Democratic leader under Lyndon B. Johnson. When Johnson became vice president in 1961, Mansfield became majority leader and kept that position until he retired in 1977, longer than any other person in the history of the Senate. When asked why he was leaving the Senate, he, as a man of few words, said simply, "There is a time to stay and a time to go."

During his 35-year career on Capitol Hill, Mansfield was prominent both in international and domestic affairs. Toward the end of his first term, he was asked by President Franklin Roosevelt to undertake a special mission to China, which he completed in December 1944. He came to be regarded as an Asian specialist in Washington. In the summer of 1946 he visited China, Japan, and several other Asian nations as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. As Senate Democratic Majority Leader from 1961 through 1977, he became a central figure in Capitol Hill debates on foreign and domestic affairs during the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford presidencies.

He had, as a matter of course, a keen interest in the war in Vietnam. Mansfield gradually became very critical of U.S. military involvement, despite the fact that he had been an early supporter of Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietnam and a supporter of the American Friends of Vietnam (known as the Vietnam Lobby), a private association whose specific goal was to save Vietnam from communism. He visited South Vietnam in 1962 at President Kennedy's request and returned with a pessimistic assessment of developments there. Even though he supported President Johnson's Vietnam policy, he opposed U.S. deployment of ground troops in 1965. He continued visits to Southeast Asia during the Johnson administration but expressed increasing anxiety about the escalation of the war. In 1966, for example, he went on a fact-finding trip to South Vietnam, and on his return to Washington he privately suggested to Johnson that military intervention be abandoned. To his disappointment, he was unable to sway the president.

Mansfield continued his criticism of the nation's Pentagonized war efforts in Vietnam under the Nixon Administration. In 1971, for example, he supported both the Cooper-Church and the Hatfield-McGovern amendments enthusiastically. In 1971 Mansfield himself introduced an amendment to end the war in Vietnam, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. military forces within nine months, subject to the release of all prisoners of war—an amendment that passed the Senate, though it was finally defeated in the House. The Senate success pressured President Richard Nixon to set a firm date for U.S. troop withdrawal. Mansfield continued his efforts, and on June 22, 1971, his nonbinding "Sense of the Senate" resolution—that it was "the policy of the U.S. to terminate at the earliest practicable date all military operations in Indochina"—was adopted. In 1973 he played a central role in crafting the War Powers Act, "designed to check

the president's ability to commit American troops abroad without the consent of Congress."

In the field of domestic politics, Mansfield also made great contributions. He backed legislation that created Johnson's Great Society programs, played a very important and essential role in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and supported the ratification of the 26th Amendment, which gives American 18-year-olds the right to vote.

Mansfield did not seek reelection in 1976, and in January 1977, after nearly 34 years of public life, he retired from the Senate and left Capitol Hill. Soon, however, President Carter offered him the position of ambassador to Japan. He accepted it with delight. The nomination was passed unanimously in the Senate, so in early June 1977, at the age of 73, he arrived in Tokyo as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan. Carter's choice of Mansfield showed clearly what he had in mind with regard to his policy toward Asia, not only toward Japan but also toward the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, for Mansfield was symbolic of Carter's morally-guided approach to diplomacy.

When Ronald Reagan was elected President in November 1980, he wanted Mansfield to stay on as ambassador in his Republican administration. Mansfield decided to accept. He later wrote: "I do not know the major reason for President Reagan's decision to let me stay on. But, the United States was still having problems in the negotiations with Japan covering beef and citrus issues, which had the potential to negatively impact the U.S.-Japan relationship. We had not completed the negotiations. I had mentioned to several people that I had hoped to complete the difficulties over beef and citrus before I went home."

Mansfield stayed in the position for another eight years, a period filled with trade friction and economic challenges. He concluded his public service as the longest serving U.S. ambassador in the 150-year-long history of U.S.–Japan relations on December 22, 1988. No doubt, Mansfield did much for United States relations with Japan. His successors have been very senior political figures: Michael Armacost, Walter Mondale, Thomas Foley, and Howard Baker. Their appointments have shown that the U.S.–Japan relationship is, as Mansfield characterized it, "the most important bilateral relationship in the world, bar none," an opinion he had held from the early 1950s.

On July 2, 1988, while Mansfield still served as ambassador, Nanzan University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Arts and Letters on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Center for American Studies, which had been founded with the aid of the Fulbright Institutional Fund in 1978. The degree was given to Mansfield because he had furthered mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of America and Japan during a period fraught with international business tensions and unpredictable monetary fluctuations, and also because of his support for international exchanges of students and scholars, especially through the Fulbright Program of the Japan–United

States Educational Commission. In addition, he was highly respected because he had, in the words of Robert Riemer, then president of Nanzan University, "promoted strenuously world peace and regional harmony within the Pacific Basin community as a spokesman expressing an ideal vision for the 21st century." On receipt of the honorary degree, Mansfield made remarks, reproduced at the end of this memorial essay, that further demonstrate his greatness.

Mike Mansfield lived through a century of turbulence. In this, the first year of the new century, it is worthwhile to know more about his achievements as congressman and ambassador to Japan—and his legacy. His death still leaves much to learn and be done by those who will be leading the world in the 21st century. He showed how important a deep appreciation of history is to each of us who desires to shape a global peace.

Appendix

Remarks made by Ambassador Mike Mansfield at Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan, on July 2, 1986

I am honored to share this important day with you. With humility I accept this doctorate Nanzan has so graciously bestowed on me. I am particularly honored to receive it at the same time as Chairman Miyake, who has contributed so much to Japan through his far-sighted business leadership and his support of international exchange programs and projects to improve the environment.

A ceremony like this is a time to take stock—to look back at where we have been, what we have accomplished, and what things we would like to have a second chance at. In the citation, you mentioned that I was first elected to the American Congress in 1942. I understand that Nanzan University was not established until 1949. Forty-plus years is a long time in the life of a person, but a short time in the life of an institution. Nanzan has clearly made great strides in such a short period of time.

Let me emphasize, though, that I have always believed education is a lifelong process, a lifelong mission, if you will. Elementary schools, high schools, vocational and training schools, colleges and universities are way stations of nourishment, direction, and inspiration. This is where Nanzan, its faculty and students, can make a difference.

To quote President Reagan,

> There is a flickering spark in us all which, if struck at just the right age . . . can light the rest of our lives, elevating our ideals, deepening our tolerance, and sharpening our appetite for knowledge about the rest of the world. Educational and cultural exchanges, especially among our young, provide a perfect opportunity for this precious spark to grow, making us more sensitive and wiser international citizens through our careers.

I am a good example of how that spark was struck. I served in the Philippines and China with the Marines when I was a young man in the early 1920s. It was by living in those countries that I developed my interest in the Far East. My first taste of Japan came as our unit was leaving the Far East. I was on a troop transport that had left the Port of Tientsin and Ta-ku Bay.

We came to Nagasaki in 1922, and stayed three days taking on coal. I was impressed with the beauty of Nagasaki, with the courtesy and quiet grace of the people. Travel in those days was slow; there weren't any jet planes to zip us around. You cannot imagine the impression that was made on me as I absorbed the sights and sounds of this exotic country. And in looking back, there was an immediacy to, and a chance to reflect on my first Asian experiences, with which today's television cannot compete.

Nowadays, most young people don't get the chance to sign on as a sailor, so Nanzan's Centers for Latin American Studies, Australian Studies, American Studies, and Japanese Studies, and its exchange programs with foreign universities have the great responsibility to light that spark among young people, and awaken them to the riches of other cultures.

I am particularly delighted today, just two days before our own Fourth of July celebration, to congratulate the Center for American Studies on its tenth anniversary.

Perhaps you will permit me to talk a little bit about our Independence Day, the importance of the Statue of Liberty, and what they symbolize for any meaningful study of the United States.

I know that historians and political scientists throughout the years have analyzed and interpreted the motivations and pragmatic compromises behind the Declaration of Independence. But let me quote two passages where our Founding Fathers were unequivocal:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.
>
> That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

More than ever before we need to remember these words, and we need to remember that the Founding fathers backed this Declaration—with their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Sacred Honor.

The United States would be nothing today were it not for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who came to make the principles set forth in this Declaration a reality. The Statue of Liberty, whose 100th anniversary will also be celebrated the day after tomorrow, has become a worldwide symbol of freedom

and opportunity. The United States has been called a melting pot, a mixed salad, a mosaic, even a "pizza with everything." I prefer to think of us as a patchwork quilt—each of us individual ethnic and racial "squares" are sewn together into a beautiful, harmonious pattern. We may tear apart every so often, but we always manage to mend.

Nanzan University's Center for American Studies—its library, research and lecture programs, and its informative journal—all contribute to a deeper understanding of America, its underlying principles, in short, what makes it tick. The lectures you co-sponsor with the Nagoya American Center on the U.S. legal system and the Constitution, as we mark that cornerstone document's bicentennial in 1987, is significant. Significant, because any commitment to American Studies means understanding the pre-eminence of the Constitution in U.S. history. In the discussions following these lectures, Japanese scholars also will be able to contribute their insights on the Constitution, and give Americans a new perspective on its meaning.

In the same way, your Center for Japanese Studies where many young Americans study, serves a great purpose in helping our people learn about the traditions and culture of Japan.

Your steadfast support of the Fulbright program over the years has served the same goal. I am happy that so many Fulbright lecturers have had the opportunity to teach at Nanzan. I understand that many of them have been back to visit time and time again, bringing along their American students.

J. William Fulbright and I joined the U.S. Congress on the same day, and we served together many years on the Senate foreign Relations Committee. One of the greatest achievements of those post-war years was the enactment of the Fulbright Program to support exchanges of scholars and research students between the U.S. and the rest of the world. This year, the Fulbright Program celebrates its 40th anniversary. Over 150,000 people have participated so far.

The Japanese Government recognizes the value of this program and has supported U.S.-Japan Fulbright activities on a 50-50 basis since 1980. But above and beyond that, Japanese Fulbright alumni have raised funds to make it possible for several additional American researchers to come to Japan each year.

Sponsorship of educational, cultural and professional exchanges and research between our two countries is essential. Governments can sign treaties and chiefs of state can have any number of summits. But ultimately the individual human bridges between countries bear the fate of our family of nations.

I have often said that while trade and defense are the flesh and bones of the U.S.-Japan relationship, cultural and academic exchanges are the heart. This has never been truer than it is today.

Well, I seem to have gotten myself wrapped up into a lecture, and I'm sure you've all probably heard enough of those. But let me close by reemphasizing that education is a lifelong process. You have done me a great honor today, and I shall do my best to live up to Nanzan University's high standards.

Thank you.